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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a history and analysis of the career of black historian and educator John Hope Franklin. Franklin's early educational experiences are described and discussed in relation to the overall black educational situation in the 1930s. Also discussed are Franklin's books and his ideas and activities in the areas of civil rights. (APM)

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# JOHN HOPE FRANKLIN-INDIVIDUAL EXTRAORDINARY: A PERSONAL OBSERVATION

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## Introduction

The United States in 1915 in many respects, resembled very little, the United States of today. Americans were being kept informed by newspaper of the war in Europe. Lusitania, the American liner was torpedoed on May 8th, off the Irish coast by the Germans and the liner quickly sank killing hundreds of people.[1] At a pier on the Chicago River on July 24, 1915, the excursion steamer Eastland capsized killing more than eight hundred people.[2] Between February and December, 1915, the opening of the Pacific Ocean and the Panama Canal were celebrated jointly in a great exposition at San Francisco.[3] And 1915 saw the making of the "first screen epic," "The Birth of a Nation."[4]

In "Black America," Dr. Carter G. Woodson established the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and launched the Journal of Negro History, with himself as its editor. The "great migration" northward to urban areas of two million blacks began. In the south the revival of the KKK began in Alabama and spread to Oklahoma, California, Oregon, Indiana and Ohio.[5] Within a ten month period shortly after the close of the war, the Klan, pandering racial hatred, made more than two hundred public appearances in twenty-seven states.[6] Soon the Klan and other anti-black groups were terrorizing the black population in every conceivable way. Returning black American soldiers soon rediscovered that America politically and socially had not really changed. More than seventy black persons were lynched during the first year of the post war period.[7] Ten black soldiers returning from the war and still in uniform, were lynched.[8] Mobs within the states of Mississippi and Georgia murdered six black veterans. Fourteen black persons were publicly burned and eleven of these were...burned alive![9] Thus one could conclude that the quality of life for blacks in America in 1915 was far from being humane ... or American.

The life time accomplishments of John Hope Franklin as an educator, an American, a black American, and an international scholar thus far have been monumental when compared to his humble origins! John Franklin was born in Rentiesville, Oklahoma on January 2, 1915, to Buck Colbert and Mollie Parker Franklin.[10] His grandfather had been a slave who had run away from his Chickasaw Indian master to fight during the Civil War.[11] Eventually he became a freedman and an independent rancher in Oklahoma.

When John Franklin was ten, his family including two sisters and one brother, moved to Tulsa where the elder Franklin became the first black to practice law in Oklahoma.[12] As a lawyer, Attorney Franklin set up a law practice in Tulsa; however, his office was eventually burned down by racial rioters in 1921.[13] Attorney Franklin eventually became the first black in the state of Oklahoma to sit on a United States district court bench.[14] He also argued cases before the state's Supreme Court, Supreme Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court of the United States. Attorney Franklin was a life long enemy of segregation and refused to obey racially segregated signs in Tusla throughout his life.

John Franklin attended the segregated public school systems of Tulsa. In 1931, he graduated from Booker T. Washington High School.[15] While at Washington High School he became very interested in the extra curricular activities of singing and debating. These pastimes continued to occupy a large part of his free time as he entered predominately black Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee.[16] As a freshman John Franklin held a first year scholarship and an Alpha Phi Alpha scholarship.[17] He served as student government president, fraternity president, secretary to the librarian and a helper in the cafeteria. His academic interests centered around history and this served later as his major. "In both my secondary and collegiate training, I got a sense of intellectual as well as emotional security. Fisk was an extraordinary place to be. It had an interracial faculty of distinguished, productive scholars. It had visiting

lectures such as controversial speakers like W.E.B. DuBois," said Franklin.[18] John Franklin was an excellent student and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa.[19] He graduated magna cum laude in 1935 with a Bachelor of Arts Degree.[20]

History continued to be John Franklin's main academic interest. So much so that with additional encouragement and the assistance of a Fisk professor, John Franklin took graduate courses at Harvard University. In 1936, he received his M.A. from Harvard.[21] Graduating from Harvard in 1936 was an extrodinary accomplishment for a black man when one analyzed the American racial climate of the 1930s. "It was good. I felt like I was really in the big league, therefore I was not intimidated by Harvard," stated Franklin.[22]

Emotional security and self-confidence have always been major factors in John Franklin's life time successes. He stated that entering and completing college were assumed to be ordinary accomplishments within his family. "It was expected just as much as coming home from school. My mother imbused us all with the idea that we should never do less than our best," he said.[23]

In 1939, John Franklin accepted an instructor position in history at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina.[24] He remained at St. Augustine for four years. During this time, his continuing interest in Black History led him to conduct research on the status of blacks in North Carolina before the Civil War. He returned to Harvard supported by an Austin and Rosenwald Fellowship and pursued doctoral studies in history.[25] To assist himself financially, he typed doctoral dissertations for fellow students and was awarded his doctorate in 1941.[26] His dissertation was entitled, "The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860."[27] Other literary works of his were published in several articles including

"The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Economic Life of North Carolina"(North Carolina Historical Review, July and October 1942) and"Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina (Journal of Negro History, July 1943), and in his book, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (University of North Carolina Press, 1943).

George Steator in Commonwealth (July 26, 1943) praised his study as "an admirable piece of work," noting that Franklin went "deeper into social and economic factors dragging the free Negro down than many other scholars."[29]

During 1943, Dr. Franklin became a professor of history at North Carolina College and moved from Raleigh to Durham.[30] The United States was at war at this time so he decided to do his patriotic duty and apply for military service. Dr. Franklin applied for clerical work in the Navy. Extensive newspaper publicity had been used to advertise for skilled professionals to assist and staff offices. So, he went to the recruiter in Raleigh and stated that he could type, do shorthand and had a Ph.D. in history. However the recruiter's response was that he had so much ability and training ... "but he did not have the necessary color."[31] Dr. Franklin stated that he was unable to get any kind of decent job at this time but... "all the other boys who flunked out of Harvard had big soft jobs in Washington."[32] He concluded, "to hell with these guys. I'm not going. It was not a war worthy of me."[33] So, for another four years, he taught at N.C.C but left the campus in 1947 for Washington, D.C.[34]

In Washington, Dr. Franklin served as a professor of history at Howard University and also acted as an advisor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. It was in this capacity as an advisor that he assisted the N.A.A.C.P. in helping to write the historic 1954 brief against public school segregation.[35]

From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes was written by Dr. Franklin and published in 1947.[36] It became an important college textbook and gave Dr. Franklin's academic reputation a great deal of well deserved publicity. This volume followed the usual format of histories of race and placed extensive emphasis on the research of George W. Williams, W.E.B. DuBois and Carter G. Woodson.[37]

> In the opinion of Roi Ottley (New York Times Book Review, October 12, 1947), except for a discussion of the Negro in Canada, From Slavery to Freedom was a bulky, unwidely, conventional history with the studied scholarship of a doctoral thesis. Ottley, however, admired Franklin's forthrightness, as did several critics, who felt moreover that his sound factual grasp of his subject, his insight, his balanced presentation, and lack of prejudice ensured his book a lasting place among American historical writings.[38]

Only one other reviewer joined Ottley in his severe criticism, but Alain Locke, a black professor of philosophy, stated that "it will be a long while until another book in this field supersedes it."[39] In 1957, Dr. Franklin published a second revised, enlarged edition of From Slavery to Freedom that brought its contents up-to-date to include recent developments in black American history.[40]

Dr. Franklin in 1947, also edited The Civil War Diary of James T. Ayers, however, From Slavery to Freedom won the most literary praise for him during this time.

The Militant South, 1800-1860, was a study of Southern military traditions prior to the Civil War and was published in 1956.[42] This volume was published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University and was a trend setter. Dr. Franklin wrote this volume while still teaching at Howard and through original sources of investigation, he succeeded at being the second black scholar to be published in the Harvard Historical Series. The only other manuscript published in this series by a black scholar had been a study of the slave trade written by W.E.B. DuBois.[43] The Militant South was an original study based on the militant spirit of the Ante-bellum South.[44] This volume described

> aspects of life in the Ante-bellum South which were responsible for the section's reputation for violence. Some of the reasons for southern militant attitudes, according to the author, were danger from the Indians, fear of slaves and an arrogant, self-satisfaction with things as they existed.[45]
>
> Library Journal

It is in the section of the book dealing with the Southern background that Professor Franklin makes his most valuable contributions to the study of sectional violence ... Regardless of whether all of Dr. Franklin's surmises are correct or whether his analysis of Southern society is sound on all points, he has written a valuable and stimulating study which is an important addition to the historical literature of the Old South.[46]

T.H. Williams + - Sat. R. 39:18 D 22 '56 1000w

John Hope Franklin has assembled an unrivalled body of data on the diverse manifestations on the fighting spirit in the South, and has presented it in a book which enables the reader better to understand a whole range of behavior from the valor of Pickett's charge to the infamy of the Emmett Till murder. Franklin's accounts of militia musters, martial verse, military schools, and other warlike phenomena are so telling that they have to some extent pushed aside his explanation of the conditions in the South which gave rise to the fighting spirit, and this is unfortunate, for he is extremely well-equipped to formulate such an explanation.[47]

D.M. Potter +Yale R. n s 46:263 Winter '57 650w

Prior to publication of The Militant South in 1956, Dr. Franklin left Howard to become the first black chairman of the Department of History at Brooklyn College.[48] "I just didn't have the racial sensitivity to appreciate what was going on," he stated. "What business did I have being on the front page of the NEW YORK TIMES for becoming a history department chairman except it told you something about where we were, or where we were not" in making progress toward racial equality," said Franklin.[50]

As Chairman of the Department of History at Brooklyn College he found that being an administrator allowed far less time for teaching and research. Nevertheless, he was able to devote enough time to scholarship to publish Reconstruction After the Civil War (University of Chicago Press, 1961), "a re-examination of political, economic, and social aspects of the postwar period in light of present-day scholarship."[51] This volume was published as part of the Chicago University History of America Civilization Series. Basically the tone and conclusions for

this study had been previously set in 1935 in Black Reconstruction by W.E.B. DuBois.[52] Other works during this period included Albion Tourgee's, A Fool's Errand (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), and Thomas Wentworth Hegginson's, Army Life in a Black Regiment (Collier Books, 1962), were edited by Franklin.[53]

As part of the national celebration of the Civil War Centennial, Franklin published his special rendition of The Emancipation Proclamation (Doubleday 1963).[54] In this volume he discussed "the significance of the proclamation as a war measure, as a moral force during and following the Civil War, as an American document of freedom as it relates also to the twentieth century."[55] Franklin's published works were not limited to books and in addition to these he has written numerous chapters for several American History books, and edited a book in which he joined eight Southerners in protesting past historical writings by Southerners as "having been seriously distorted."[56]

As a personal individual, Dr. Franklin is an integrationist and he states that he has always believed in getting into the mainstream of American life. As a result of his beliefs, academic credentials, and physical non-involvement in the Civil Rights Movement of the early 1960s, he became a target of a limited amount of racial criticism.[57] Angry, young, black militant intellectuals accused him of "insulating himself in the ivory tower of white academe."[58] He strongly rejected the criticism and stated that he had not excluded himself from the fight for equal rights for blacks. On the contrary, as a teacher he feels he has always contributed mentally and morally and passed on this intellecutal contribution to his students. "Activism," he adds, "does not just mean you go out and picket. It also means you put blacks in places where it is important for black to be - in city hall, and in the top levels of the academic world."[59] In all his endeavors Dr. Franklin states that he has tried to appoint black

scholars to elevated positions and will continue to do so.

The University of Chicago History Department in 1963 appointed Dr. Franklin professor of American History effective in the fall of 1964.[60] This appointment came while he was on a leave of absence from Brooklyn College. During the academic year 1962-63 he was Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at Cambridge University.[61]

> I was lying in bed in Cambridge, England, at 5 in the morning, and I got a call from Newsweek magazine. "Professor Franklin? I said, yes." Congratulations!" I said, "what did I do?" "You haven't heard?" Heard what?" I said, "That you were voted a member of the Cosmos Club tonight." I said [chuckle] "well so be. [chuckle] So what else is new? "Here they are calling me overseas just to be a member of an eating club." "Well, I couldn't get excited about becoming a member of an eating club!"[62]

Dr. Franklin does recognize the psychological, social and political significance of being a pioneering "first black." But he states that "it is not that his career has not been exceptional, but that it should not have been."[63]

Dr. Franklin's lecture tour has been unbelievably diversified. He has lectured at more than twenty universities in Great Britain, Germany, Italy, France, Australia, Nigeria, ... He is a member of the board of numerous international associations and foundations. Other honors include

> J.M. Manley Distbg. Service, Pres., United Chpt. of Phi Beta Kappa, 1973-76; member Orgn. of Am. Historians, pres. 1974-75; Am. Hist. Assn. Executive Coun.; past pres. So. Hist. Assn., Assoc. for Study of Afro-Am. Life and Hist.; Mem. of Bd. Museum of Sci. and Industry; Pub. Lib. Bd. of Chicago. Honorary degrees from 42 universities including Howard Univ., Columbia Univ., Univ. of Tulsa, Princeton Univ., Moorehouse Coll., Notre Dame, Univ. of Md., Northwestern, Fisk Univ., Ariz. State, Hameline Univ., Tuskegee, ...[64]

Dr. Franklin is presently silver haired and sixty-five years old, however, his precident setting "first black" accomplishments continue to grow. In 1976, he was chosen to be the president of the Organization of American Historians,

the first black person ever to be so honored.[65] But it hasn't swayed his intellectual grasp he commented, "I know who I am and what I am. I know what I am in this association. I know where I stand, and I've known it for a long time. I try to wear it with some grace."[66]

> Dr. Franklin is married to the former Aurelia E. Whittington, of Goldsboro, North Carolina. The couple have been married since June 11, 1940, and met while Dr. Franklin was an undergraduate. By profession Mrs. Franklin is a librarian. The couple have one son, John Whittington. Dr. Franklin is an independent in politics, a Methodist by religious choice, stands six feet tall and weighs 190 pounds. His hobbies include fishing, listening to music, cooking, making new friends and laboring over his orchids in his greenhouse.[67]

Dr. Franklin stated that he is annoyed by the academic state Black Studies presently finds itself in. "I became apprehensive when institutions seemed to be more willing to establish seperate courses than to work materials about black into their regular courses."[68] He feels that Black Studies is an academic extension of the "seperate but equal" philosophy as far as the American History curriculum is concerned. He states "as a scholar, I am not prepared to see a field that had some intellectual validity polluted by a hodgepodge of disciplines taught by people who had no more business teaching at a university than the man in the moon."[69]

During the early 1970s and throughout that decade, Dr. Franklin, like many Americans, feels that socially American society is retreating. Reatreating for its social commitment of racial equality and equal opportunities it previously promised would be eventually coming. The most prevalent example of this stark reality is the Bakke claim of "reverse discrimination." He fears the controversy raised by this case amounts simply to a "copout."[70] "I think there are a lot of people who feel, "well, if we can get out of this affirmative action, we can relax, we won't have to redo our society," stated Dr. Franklin.[71] Dr. Franklin

is angry but he has not lost hope. "The writings of history reflects the interests, predilections, and even prejudices of a given generation. This means that at the present time there is an urgent need to re-examine our past in terms of our present outlook."[72]

Dr. Franklin's current literary endeavors, not counting the hundreds of other projects he is involved in is writing a biography of George Washington Williams, a black historian and columnist. "More work needs to be done ... in researching the black prospective in history," he said.[73] "So much of the materials that we use have been produced by whites. It's their account of slavery that we have ... Now we need to find places and ways to get the black's own view of slavery."[74] Dr. Franklin does not view himself as an extrodinarily talented individual, eventhough, academically he has literally become a legend in his own time. "There have been Negroes as talented as I before me, but they could not get where I have because the white man was not advanced enough to let them."[75]

## PERSONAL OBSERVATION

The life time accomplishments of Dr. John Hope Franklin as an educator, pioneering Afro-American, international scholar, and historian are monumental! Eventhough it might be erroneously said that since his parents were college educated, John Hope's social status and advancement opportunities were ensured. However admittely this was not a disadvantage .. but if did little to ensure life long individual success.

As an international scholar, Dr. Franklin's academic expertise has taken him to scores of academic institutions whose names are generally associated with

the upper class, prestige and the best in academic credentials. While at Cambridge, Dr. Franklin filled a position that in the past had gone to such notables as Cornell's Clinton Rossiter, and Amherst's Henry Steele Commanger. And in Austria, he served twice as Professor at the Salzburg Seminar. His civic and public service duties have been extensive and include memberships on the United States National Commission for UNESCO, the Board of Directors of the American Council on Human Rights and the Board of Foreign Scholarship. As an international scholar, Dr. Franklin has also exposed foreign academic institutions to himself as an educated authority. His expertise in nistory and especially the American Civil War, has made him as individual of monumental academic statue. As an international scholar, Dr. Franklin's writing have also been read by millions of readers around the world. His scholarship endeavors have greatly strengthened international black scholarship.

As a historian and educator, Dr. Franklin's enlightening research has been of notable significance since the writing of his dissertation. His dissertation was entitled, the Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 and was useful in calling attention to the unreported wealth of knowledge at our finger tips. His subsequent writings have all been related to the historic, social and political significance of the black American and the South. As a native of the Midwest his balanced presentations have drawn both praise and criticism. As an educator and historian, his belief in integration always appear to be carried over into his scholarship. Always two themes are ever present, the story of the black Americans and the story of the South. I agree that these two themes are inseperable. By studying the history of the South one cannot escape studying the history of the black American.

I strongly agree with his assertations that black scholars need to devote more of their time and energy to the writing of Black History. Black educators presently

need to conduct more original research from existing sources and present Black History and culture from an ethnic prospective.

Further evidence of Dr. Franklin's awareness is revealed in his comments on the present state of Black Studies in the academic institutions. In the 1960s as a result of intense protests, national guilt, violence and often a combination of all of these, many educational institutions all across the United States, acquired some remanents of a Black Studies collection. Most of these materials were never integrated into the regular collection but remained as a "separate but equal" additional source of non-selectivity and semi-worthiness. In many instances, individuals with no expertise in the subject matter, ordered materials and "taught" the courses. This situation further enhanced the position of critics that Black Studied was non-substantive and lacked academic foundations. Dr. Franklin has been a life long pioneer who had been fighting to get better academic recognition of Black Studies long before the idea became fashionable.

As a pioneering black American, Dr. Franklin is skeptical about racial progress in America. And I equally agree with his skepticism. During the 1976 Bicentennial celebration, he told Americans "they had refused - from the founding fathers to the present - to let blacks share in the equality promised by the Constitution." I agree with his assertation that America has been and is ... guilty of "self-congratulations that stimulates complacency and indifference."

I personally admire Dr. Franklin as a great contributor to humanity and ethnic scholarship. During the turbulent 1960s, many of these critics had not made and would continue to make toward black progress. I can easily see how his hasty, less informed critics might jump to this conclusion. Dr. Franklin did not physically go out and picket but his teachings and scholarship contributed to the improvement of existing contributions and reached a previously uninformed audience.

Eventhough Dr. Franklin's contributions to society and honors both earned and honorary have been phenomenal. I can't help but wonder how much greater they would be if he had not been hampered by racial prejudice. As unfortunate as it seems, I honestly believe if he was not black, with all his present honors considered, ... he would today be a chancellor of a prestigeous university, an ambassador, chairman of a board to one of the world's largest corporations, member of a presidential cabinet, ... It's in this context that I immediately recall his statement on the progress of American race relations. He stated that "almost invariably the Negro progresses only to the extent that the white man advances in understanding that a human being is a human being. There have been Negroes as talented as I before me, but they could not get where I have because the white man was not advanced enought to let them."

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO HIGHER EDUCATION

The accomplishments and direct contributions to higher education made by Dr. Franklin are far too numerous to itemize in this short profile and overview of his life. As a professor of higher education, a historian, a scholar and an outstanding individual, his statue ranks prominently among the gifted intelletuals of this century. If one were to attempt to construct a generalized diary of his educational accomplishments, this astounding listing of contributions might superficially read as follows:

> At Fisk University as an undergraduate, young Franklin served as president of the student government and was elected to Phi Bata Kappa.[76] In 1935, he was graduated magna cum laude with a B.A. Degree in history.[77] He entered Harvard University and received

his M.A. Degree in history in 1936. Returning to Fisk to teach as a substitute in the history department in 1936-37, he then resumed work at Harvard.[78] At Harvard, Franklin studied under an an Edward Austin Fellowship in 1937-38 and a Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellowship from 1936 to 1939.[79] In 1941, Professor Franklin was awarded his Ph.D. Degree in history from Harvard.[80]

In 1939, Professor Franklin accepted a teaching position at St. Augustine's College in Raleigh, North Carolina. While teaching his scheduled courses, he also managed to engage in scholarly research on the legal status and economic and social position of the black man in North Carolina prior to the Civil War. Professor Franklin's findings published in numerous articles, among these were "The Negro in the Economic Life of North Carolina" (North Carolina Historical Review, July and October 1942) and "Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina" (Journal of Negro History, July 1943), and in his book The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860 (University of North Carolina Press, 1943).[81] Later in 1943, Professor Franklin moved to Durham and taught at North Carolina College for another four years.[82] In 1947, he moved to Washington and taught history at Howard University and also served jointly as an advisor to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).[82] As an advisor to the NAACP, Professor Franklin was able to aid in the development of the historic brief of 1954 that legally challenged the issue of public school segregation in the United States.[83] Earlier in 1950 Professor Franklin had been honored by being a visiting professor at Harvard (1950), the University of Wisconsin in 1952-53, and Cornell University in 1953.[84]

Professor Franklin's publication of From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes in 1947, became a prominent college text. An up dated version

of this volume was later published in 1957.[85] In 1956, he published The Militant South, 1800-1860.[86] This publication by Belknap Press of Harvard marked only the second manuscript by a black scholar to be published in the Harvard Historical Series.[87] Professor Franklin's upward mobility continued to increase and in 1956, he was appointed as chairman of the Department of History at Brooklyn College in New York.[88] In 1961, he published Reconstruction After the Civil War (University of Chicago Press, 1961), The Emancipation Proclamation (Doubleday, 1963), and figured prominently in editing several volumes.[89] Through the editing of these three volumes, he has been cited as having contributed an enlightened understanding to the Civil War period. These titles included: The Civil War Diary of James T. Ayers (Illinois State Historical Society, 1947, Albion Tourgee's A Fool's Errand (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1961), and Thomas Wentworth Higginson's Army Life in a Black Regiment (Collier Books, 1962).[90] Numerous articles and chapters have been written by Professor Franklin on the subject of history. Most notably was his excellent contribution of "As For Our History" which appeared in The Southerner as American, edited by Charles G. Sellers, Jr. (University of North Carolina Press, 1960).[91]

In April 1963, Professor Franklin was appointed Head of the History Department at the University of Chicago.[92] At the time of his appointment to the University of Chicago, he was on a leave of absence from Brooklyn College (1962-63), and was serving as William Pitt Professor of American History and Institutions at St. John's College, Cambridge University, England.[93]

Professor Franklin has lectured internationally at Universities including some twenty in Great Britian, Germany, Italy and France.[94]

He had earlier, in 1954, lectured at Cambridge as a Fulbright professor, and in 1960 he had taught at Australian National University as Distinguished American Fulbright Professor. He has made other trips abroad to lecture in 1951 and 1958 at the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies (of which he is a member of the board of directors), to read a paper at the International Conference of Historical Sciences in Rome in 1955, to represent the American Council of Learned Societies at the Centennial Celebration of Indian Universities in 1957, and to represent the United States Department of State at the independence celebrations in Nigeria in 1960.[95]

Since 1947, Franklin has served on the editiorial board of the Journal of Negro History. He is a member of the board of trustees of Fisk University and belong to many professional organizations, including the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (executive committee, 1958-61); American Historical Association (council, 1959-62); American Studies Association (executive council, 1963); ...[96]

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[84]Moritz., op. cit.

[85]Thrope., op. cit., p. 180.

[86]Ibid., op. cit., p. 146.

[87]Ibid., op. cit.

[88]Winkler., op. cit. p. 7.

[89]"Negro at Cambridge," op. cit.

[90]Moritz., op. cit.

[91]Ibid., op. cit.

[92]Winkler., op. cit.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Moritz., op. cit.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Ibid.

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